

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /094 W
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R 221424Z MAY 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2858
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOVIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0274

FROM US REP MBFR

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC MINISTERS

AT ITS MAY 22 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED THE
TEXT OF THE REPORT ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE MBFR
NEGOTIATIONS TO BE SENT TO THE NAC FOR THE MAY NATO
SUMMIT MEETING. THE TEXT OF THE REPORT FOLLOWS BELOW.

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BEGIN TEXT:

AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC MINISTERS

1. THIS REPORT BY THE AD HOC GROUP ON THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS
ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS COVERS EVENTS FROM

1 DECEMBER 1977 TO 24 MAY 1978.

2. THERE WERE TWO MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS DURING THIS PERIOD. THE FIRST WAS THAT, AFTER NEARLY A YEAR OF INTENSIVE DISCUSSION, EASTERN AND WESTERN NEGOTIATORS FINALLY REACHED AGREEMENT IN MID-MARCH ON THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR AN EXCHANGE OF ADDITIONAL DATA. THIS EXCHANGE, COVERING THE GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OF THE TWO SIDES IN THE REDUCTIONS AREA, ENTAILED A BREAKDOWN INTO COMPONENT PARTS OF THE OVERALL MANPOWER TOTALS ALREADY EXCHANGED. DISAGGREGATED GROUND FORCE MANPOWER FIGURES WERE EXCHANGED ON 15 MARCH AND DISAGGREGATED AIR FORCE MANPOWER FIGURES ON 4 APRIL.

3. THE DISAGGREGATED EASTERN MANPOWER DATA CONTINUE TO REFLECT THE OVERALL DISCREPANCY OF ABOUT 176,000 MEN BETWEEN THE FIGURES TABLED BY THE EAST ON 10 JUNE 1976 (987,300) AND THE NATO-GREEK ESTIMATE (1,163,000). AT THE SAME TIME, THE DISAGGREGATED EASTERN FIGURES HAVE PROVIDED US WITH AN INDICATION OF HOW THIS DISCREPANCY IS DISTRIBUTED BETWEEN THE FOUR EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. IN GROUND FORCES THIS DISTRIBUTION IS UNEVEN AND SHOWS THAT THE DISCREPANCY IS CONCENTRATED LARGELY IN SOVIET AND POLISH PERSONNEL.

4. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK EXPLANATIONS FROM THE EAST ON THE METHOD IT HAS ADOPTED FOR DISAGGREGATING
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WARSAW PACT DATA. THEY WILL ALSO NOW QUESTION THE EAST ABOUT WHAT PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN ITS FIGURES, AND WHAT EXCLUDED, ON A COUNTRY BY COUNTRY BASIS. SO FAR THE EAST HAS ASSERTED IN ANSWER TO WESTERN QUESTIONS THAT IT HAS INCLUDED IN ITS DATA ALL WARSAW PACT GROUND AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE AREA AND THAT IT HAS DONE SO ACCORDING TO THE WESTERN DEFINITION OF ACTIVE DUTY SERVICEMEN. DESPITE THIS, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT PART OF THE DATA DISCREPANCY MAY BE THE RESULT OF CONSCIOUS EXCLUSION BY THE EAST OF CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF ACTIVE DUTY PERSONNEL WHO OUGHT PROPERLY TO BE INCLUDED.

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-----079197 221640Z /50

R 221424Z MAY 78

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2859

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

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5. THE SECOND MAJOR DEVELOPMENT WAS THE PRESENTATION TO THE EAST OF THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE. THIS INITIATIVE WAS ORIGINALLY APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL LAST DECEMBER, BUT ITS RELEASE TO THE AD HOC GROUP FOR PRESENTATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS HELD UP PENDING A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE CURRENT DATA EXCHANGE. THE COUNCIL FINALLY AUTHORIZED RELEASE OF THE INITIATIVE ON 10 APRIL. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS INFORMED THE EAST OF THE CONTENTS OF THE INITIATIVE AT THE INFORMAL MEETING ON 12 APRIL AND FORMALLY INTRODUCED ITS INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS AT THE PLENARY SESSION ON 19 APRIL IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE START OF THE SPRING RECESS.

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6. IN PRESENTING THESE PROPOSALS TO THE EAST, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS EMPHASIZED THAT THE WEST'S INITIATIVE MET TWO OBJECTIONS TO THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH REPEATEDLY VOICED BY THE EAST: THAT THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH FAILED TO GUARANTEE ADEQUATELY IN A FIRST PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF SECOND PHASE REDUCTIONS BY NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS; AND THAT THE FIRST PHASE WITHDRAWAL OF A SOVIET TANK ARMY IN ITS ENTIRETY WOULD BE INEQUITABLE AND HARMFUL TO EASTERN SECURITY. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS STRESSED THAT THE NEW PROPOSALS WERE INTENDED AS A

DECISIVE MOVE TOWARD THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FIRST REDUCTION AGREEMENT AND THAT THEY WERE DEPENDENT UPON PRIOR EAST/WEST AGREEMENT ON DATA.

7. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ASKED A NUMBER OF DETAILED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE INITIATIVE AND HAVE SAID THAT THEY AND THEIR NATIONAL AUTHORITIES WOULD GIVE IT CAREFUL STUDY. SO FAR, THERE HAS BEEN NO FORMAL EASTERN REPLY TO THE NEW WESTERN PROPOSALS ALTHOUGH THE EAST HAS BEEN ACTIVELY ATTEMPTING TO DOWNPLAY THEIR SIGNIFICANCE. THE GDR REPRESENTATIVE'S COMMENTS AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF THE PRESENT ROUND, FOR EXAMPLE, WERE NEGATIVE AND EMPHASIZED THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSALS FROM THE EASTERN VIEWPOINT.

8. THE TWO DEVELOPMENTS JUST DESCRIBED HAVE STRENGTHENED THE WESTERN HAND IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE SHOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR EASTERN NEGOTIATORS CONVINCINGLY TO SUSTAIN THEIR ALLEGATIONS THAT THE WEST IS SEEKING AN INEQUITABLE OUTCOME TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT WILL ALSO MAKE IT MORE DIFFCULT FOR EASTERN PARTICIPANTS TO STAND PAT ON THEIR POSITION, SINCE THE ONUS IS NOW SQUARELY ON THE EAST TO MOVE TOWARDS THE WESTERN POSITION. EASTERN
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REPRESENTATIVES HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WILL MAKE SOME PROPOSALS IN RESPONSE TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL WITHIN THE NEXT WEEKS. ON DATA, THE WEST IS IN A GOOD POSITION TO PRESS ITS INVESTIGATION OF THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY THROUGH FURTHER EXAMINATION OF DISAGGREGATED EASTERN DATA.

9. TO COMPLEMENT THE WESTERN INITIATIVE, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE INFORMED THE COUNCIL THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF FURTHER WESTERN PROPOSALS ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES TO ACCOMPANY AN AGREEMENT ON FORCE REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS COULD BE AGREED SOON. END TEXT.RESOR

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